5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EF6

Again, in some of my examples the symbolism is an accretion, perhaps indicating a phase of decay. On these grounds alone, until the history of each case is better known, we could not unreservedly accept any symbolist or psycho-analytical theory which has so far been advanced to explain the growth of ritual and magic. At any rate, we would have to start from the complicated hypothesis that even symbols and associations derive their forms and stability from the historical process as much as from the tenor of individual mental life.

Terminology

The evidence of language has to be used with extreme caution. Medical terms are remarkably irregular, and vary from place to place—from person to person—more, perhaps, than the technical vocabulary of any other common activity. Sometimes the term in use is vague and the concept clear and particular; sometimes the words used have a definite concrete sense, but are generalised in meaning and usage. The names of plants and animals vary also: sometimes the vocabulary is rich and precise, sometimes it is rudimentary. Among many Albanians for instance, from North Albania or present-day South Yugoslavia, I remarked that plant names were very vague, and that they were mostly given in the form 'plant for cows', 'plant for bees', 'herb for fish', etc., yet a great variety of useful plants were known and played an important part in normal economy and medicine. There are Serbian peasant herbalists who may know up to a hundred medicinal species, which they describe minutely, but they have not got names for them all. The fact that many common plant names are of foreign origin is no more a proof of their recent introduction or recent medicinal use than that houses as such were unknown in Bosnia before the word *han* became a common term. Centaury is known by at least half a dozen names, some of Romance and Greek origin, but *Betonica officinalis* and *Hyoscyamus* are also called *kičica*, elsewhere a name for centaury, and are also used for wounds, etc. *Prase* in the meaning of 'scrofula' looks like a *calque*, but there is no evidence to show

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [433] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

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A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is [A 233] used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 351).

B 131 B [133] Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria